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PRINCETON · NEW JERSEY

PRESENTED BY

A. G. Cameron, Ph.D.

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CELEBRATION

OF THE

FOURTH OF JULY, 1861,

In Princeton, N. J.

PRINCETON, N. J.:
J. T. ROBINSON, PRINTER.
1861.

Celebration of the Fourth of July.

In pursuance of public notice, a meeting of the citizens was held at the Mansion House on the 10th of June, 1861, when it was unanimously resolved to celebrate the approaching anniversary of our national independence.

The following Committees were appointed :

Committee of Arrangements:—T. G. Lytle, *Chairman;* Wm. W. Stelle, *Sec'y;* S. D. Bergen; Martin Voorhees; Robert L. Clow; John R. Hamilton; Eli R. Stonaker.

Committee of Finance:—Nathaniel Stout; Dr. J. H. Janeway; J. T. L. Anderson; Dr. John H. Warren.

Committee on Speakers:—Rev. J. T. Duffield; John T. Robinson; Daniel P. Voorhees.

The following programme was adopted by the Committee of Arrangements:

A National Salute will be fired at Sunrise, accompanied by ringing of the bells.

Marshal of the day, John R. Hamilton, assisted by Robert L. Clow, and Aaron F. Allen.

A procession will be formed in front of Nassau Hall, at 9 o'clock, A. M., under the orders of the Marshal; consisting of the Soldiers of the war of 1812, in carriages, Princeton Troop, Governor's Guard, Fire Department, and Citizens.

At 11 o'clock, A. M., the exercises will commence at the First Pres. Church.

Reading of the Declaration of Independence, by David Comfort, Esq.

Reading of Washington's Farewell Address by Rev. Dr. McIlvaine.

Oration, by Hon. R. S. Field.

Gov. Olden, Hon. Wm. C. Alexander, Hon. J. R. Thomson, Com. Crabbe, Com. Stockton, James S. Green, Esq., the Clergy of all denominations, and other distinguished citizens have been invited to participate in the exercises.

At 4 o'clock, P. M., the military will form and parade. Good music in attendanee.

Grand display of Fireworks in the evening, in the rear of Nassau Hall.

By order of the Committee of Arrangements.

The morning of the 4th was ushered in by the ringing of the bells belonging to the College of New Jersey, Theological Seminary, and the Episcopal Church, accompanied by firing of guns.

At 9 o'clock, A. M., a procession was formed in front of the College under the direction of John R. Hamilton, Esq., Marshal, assisted by Major A. F. Allen and Robert L. Clow, consisting of the Princeton Troop, Lieut. S. Alex. Hamilton commanding, Governor's Guard, Capt. Wm. V. Scudder, and the Fire Department, under the direction of Arch. T. Clow, Chief Engineer, accompanied by the Trenton Cornet Band, Benj. McClurg, Leader.

The Procession, after parading through the principal streets of the Borough, at 11 o'clock, the hour appointed, entered the First Presbyterian Church, and occupied the pews in the centre of the building, the other parts being densely crowded by the citizens of the place and the surrounding neighborhood. A stage had been erected in front of the pulpit, which was occupied by persons invited to participate in the exercises; the Hon. James S. Green presiding.

The exercises were opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Macdonald, pastor of the congregation worshipping in that Church.

Music by the band, The Star Spangled Banner, which was followed by a choir of young ladies from the public school, who sang the same national air.

The Declaration of Independence was then read by David Comfort, Esq.

Portions of Washington's Farewell Address were read by the Rev. Dr. McIlvaine, who preceded it by a few appropriate remarks.

Then followed the oration by the Hon. Richard S. Field, which was listened to by the large audience in the most profound and uninterrupted manner.

The Benediction was then pronounced by the Rev. Dr. John Maclean, President of the College, when the audience dispersed.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, the procession was reformed in front of the College and paraded our streets, firing salutes occasionally, until about 6 o'clock, when they were dismissed.

In the evening there was a brilliant display of fireworks on the back grounds of the College.

The Princeton Troop, Capt. Cummings, made a beautiful appearance in their gray uniform, and being well mounted created considerable admiration.

Much praise is also due to the Governor's Guard, Capt. Scudder, for the perfectness of their drill. They presented a fine appearance with their new gray uniforms.

The Fire Department also deserve praise for their neat appearance.

Large numbers of citizens from the adjacent country were present.

Wreaths, boquets, &c., made by fair hands were given to friends in the procession.

Flags were numerous throughout the town; and the good order observed throughout the day by the entire populace made things pass off pleasantly and agreeably to all concerned.

The following Committee were appointed to request a copy of the oration for publication:

John H. Janeway,
John R. Hamilton,
Nathaniel Stout,
Samuel D. Bergen.

Richard S. Field

THE CONSTITUTION

NOT A

COMPACT BETWEEN SOVEREIGN STATES.

FELLOW CITIZENS :—

For four and eighty years, the people of this country have been celebrating the anniversary of their national Independence; and those to whose lot it has fallen to address their fellow-citizens upon such occasions, have had before them a delightful task. Glorious recollections of the past would throng upon their memory; bright hopes of the future would spread themselves out before their enraptured vision. The early history of the Colonies, so full of interest; the disputes with the mother-country, so fraught with instruction; the calm deliberation, the clear resolves, the masterly discussions, which preceded the appeal to arms; the thrilling events which ushered in the Revolution; those battle fields, which cannot even now be named, without stirring our blood; the varied fortunes of the war, disaster following disaster, till all seemed lost, and then some sudden flash of victory, like that at Trenton or at Princeton, breaking out through the darkness, and kindling new hope; the successful issue of the struggle, followed, as it was, by the acknowledgement of our Independence, and our admission into the family of nations; the crowning glory of the whole, the adoption of the Constitution, without which, Independence itself would have been a doubtful blessing; the marvellous progress made by the nation, outstripping all that the most sanguine ever dreamed of; the expansion of our territory from ocean to ocean, and from the lakes of the north to the southern gulf; the beautiful spectacle of State after State stepping into the Union, and taking at once its appropriate place, without dis-

turbing the harmony of the system; and the ever brightening, ever lengthening chains, which were linking all the members of the confederacy so indissolubly together, that it seemed almost impossible they should ever be separated; these, and such as these, were the animating themes which invited discussion.

But alas! we have fallen upon evil days; and it is my misfortune to be called upon to address you at a time, when, if I were to present to you a picture of our past happiness, it would but embitter the painful reflections, which a contemplation of the present and of the future force upon our minds. Yes, fellow-citizens, it is difficult to realize it, it is hard to pronounce the word; but, we are in the midst of a revolution. Rebellion has reared its horrid front, and unless speedily crushed, threatens to involve us in all the horrors of a protracted civil war. The Union, watered by the tears, and cemented by the blood of our patriot Fathers, is sought to be torn rudely asunder. That Constitution, which we fondly hoped was destined to be perpetual, the source of so much happiness to us, and of so much hope to the nations of the world, is assailed in its most vital parts. That mild and paternal government, whose burdens have been unfelt, and which has only been known by the blessings it bestows, is threatened with destruction.

What are the causes which have led to this calamitous state of things; and what are the stern, but solemn duties, to which we are summoned? In such a crisis, and in the discussion of questions like these, may we not, without irreverence, invoke the aid of that Spirit, "that dost prefer, before all temples, the upright heart and pure," to instruct us; to illumine what is dark; and to raise us "to the height of this great argument." What cause then could have moved eleven of the States of the Union—States "favored of heaven so highly"—enjoying so many blessings—with so much to make them happy and contented—to renounce their allegiance to a Government, to which, under Providence, they are indebted for all that they have, and all that they are?

I have called it a rebellion. But here, we are met, at the very threshold, by a plea on behalf of the revolted States. They are not rebels. They indignantly disclaim the imputation of such a term. They have only exercised one of the rights reserved to them under the Constitution. They have Seceded. This brings us then to the doctrine of Secession. What is it? It is neither more nor less than a right which, it is alleged, belongs to every State, to withdraw from the Union whenever she sees proper to do so. Let us examine it. It rests for its support upon a single proposition; and if that can be shewn to be false, the whole argument falls to the ground. The proposition is, that the Constitution is a *compact between Sovereign States*. And the inferences drawn from it are, that a violation of this compact by one of the parties absolves the others from all obligations to perform it; and that each State must judge for itself, in the last resort, whether or not such infraction has taken place.

The first remark I have to make is, that if this be so, then it is in vain to enquire whether the alleged grievances of the South are real or imaginary. For, as they are the sole judges of their sufficiency, no appeal of course lies from their decision. And this is just the position which they have assumed. In their Ordinances of Secession, they have not deigned to assign the reasons which have induced them to separate themselves from the Union. When our Fathers declared their independence of Great Britain, they admitted, that a "decent respect for the opinions of mankind required that they should declare the causes which impelled them to the separation." And they accordingly "submitted to a candid world" a catalogue of their wrongs, the recital of which might, in all future ages, serve as a justification for their conduct. But not so with the Seceding States. They put themselves upon the right of Secession. It is beneath the dignity of Sovereign States, to enter into any explanation of the reason of their conduct.

But is the Constitution a compact? The first objection to the proposition is, that it is a contradiction in terms. If it is

a Constitution, it cannot be a compact. The two ideas are utterly inconsistent with each other. A compact is an agreement between two or more parties. A Constitution, on the other hand, is an organic law, to which there can be but one party, and that is the people by whom it is ordained. If there is one word, with the meaning of which the people of this country ought to be more familiar than any other, it is the word Constitution. It is, in fact, one of our own peculiar institutions. The glory of our governments, State as well as National, is, that they are Constitutional Governments, in a sense, in which no other Governments in the world can be said to be so. We sometimes hear of the Constitution of England. But it is so only in name. It is a mere rhetorical phrase. They have, it is true, their Petition of Rights, their Bill of Rights, and their Act of Settlement; and these they are sometimes pleased to dignify with the title of a Constitution. But they are mere acts of Parliament; passed, it is true, at critical junctures, and with more than usual solemnities, but which a subsequent Parliament might at any time repeal. It is a maxim of British law, that the power of Parliament knows no bounds. It is omnipotent. Sovereignty and Legislation are there convertible terms. But it is not so here. Our legislators are not our *Sovereigns*—they are our *Servants.* They can make such laws only as the Constitution permits them to make. The only Sovereignty which we acknowledge, under God, is the Sovereignty of the *people.* When we talk of a Constitution, then, every American knows what we mean by it—something essentially different from a compact—a fundamental, irrepealable law, of perpetual obligation. To call the Constitution a Compact, then, is simply absurd.

But, what does the Constitution say of itself? Is there a word in it, from beginning to end, to give countenance to the idea that it was designed to be a compact? The term *compact* occurs once in it, but then, it is in that clause, in which a State is prohibited, without the consent of Congress, from entering into any agreement or *compact* with another State.

Its opening words are pregnant with meaning, and shed a flood of light upon this question, "*We, the people of the United States.*" They proclaim, it seems to me, in terms not to be misunderstood, the true character of the instrument. They declare it to be, not an agreement between States, but emphatically the work of the people. The States, as such, were not parties to it at all. They had nothing to do with it. They did not make it in the first instance. They did not adopt it afterwards. It was ratified by Conventions, chosen by the People, the only true source of all political power; not even by the people of the several States, but by the people of the United States, that is, by the people in their collective aggregate capacity, acting of course through their representatives in State Conventions. And what was it they did? Do they declare that they make a compact, that they enter into a league, or that they even form a Confederacy? No! but that they ordain and establish a Constitution for the United States of America.

Such, undoubtedly, is the character of this instrument, as proclaimed by its framers; and such, most certainly, it was understood to be at the time of its adoption. As such, it was assailed by its enemies; as such, it was advocated by its friends. It was against these words in the preamble, "We the People," that Patrick Henry hurled all the thunders of his eloquence in the Virginia Convention. "Who authorized them," he asks, "to speak the language of *We the People*, instead of, *We the States*? States are the characteristics and the soul of a confederacy. If the States be not the agents of this compact, it must be one great consolidated National Government of the people of all the States." "Should the system go into operation," he says, "what will the States have to do? Take care of the poor, repair and make highways, erect bridges, and so on and so on. Abolish the State Legislatures at once. To what purpose should they be retained?" And again, "Have they said *we the States?* If they had, this would be a confederation; it is otherwise most clearly a consolidated government. The question turns, sir, on that poor little thing, the expression

we the people, instead of *the States* of America." He saw the full force and effect of these words, and he interpreted them truly.

Now, what answer was given to these arguments? Among those to whom they were addressed, were two men, who had borne a principal part in the formation of the Constitution, and who might be presumed, therefore, to understand, if any one did, its meaning and character. These men were Edmund Randolph and James Madison. What reply, then, did they make to the strictures of Patrick Henry? "The gentleman," said Governor Randolph, "inquires why we assumed the language of *we the people?* I ask, why not? The government is for the people; and the misfortune was, that the people had no agency in the government before. What harm is there in consulting the people, on the construction of a government, by which *they* are to be bound? Is it unfair? Is it unjust? If the government is to be binding on the people, are not the people the proper persons to examine its merits or defects?" And Mr. Madison remarked, "Should all the States adopt it, it will then be a government established by the thirteen States of America, not through the intervention of the legislatures, but by the *people at large.* In this particular respect, the distinction between the existing and proposed governments is very material. The existing system has been derived from the dependent derivative authority of the legislatures of the States; whereas, this is derived from the *supreme power of the people.*"

This, unquestionably, is the true theory of the Constitution. And herein it differs essentially from the old articles of Confederation. They were truly a compact between the States. The States were parties, and the only parties to it. And hence its language was, "To all to whom these presents shall come, we, the undersigned, delegates of the States affixed to our names, send greeting. The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare." But the language of the Constitution is, not

we the States, but *we the people*—not *we the people of the several States*, but "*we the people of the United States*,"—in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America."

What then becomes of the proposition that the Constitution is a compact. It has not the slightest foundation on which to rest. Still less, is it a compact between Sovereign States. In fact, this idea of the Sovereignty of the States is a perfect delusion. It has beguiled us too long already, and it is high time it were dissipated forever. I know it is soothing to State pride; it appeals to local patriotism; and it wins the favor of that class of politicians, numerous and influential, who look for office and for honor, to the State, rather than to the Federal Government. But it is not on that account the less dangerous. In the sense in which a State is said to be sovereign, every municipal corporation is sovereign; every county is sovereign; every township is sovereign. That is, within the sphere of their jurisdiction, their power is supreme. But what are the essential attributes of Sovereignty in a State? Are they not, the power of making war and peace—the power of raising and supporting an army—the power of making treaties and alliances with other States—the power of sending and receiving ambassadors—the power of coining money and regulating commerce? These are the great imperial powers, the *jura Summi imperii*, by which sovereign and independent States are known and recognized by the nations of the world. Now, there is not a State in the Union which has ever enjoyed for a moment the exercise of these powers. If so, when? Certainly not while they were Colonies. This has never been pretended. The instant they ceased to be Colonies, they became the United States of America. They were independent of Great Britain, but not independent of one another. They established a National Government. To the States, were left the affairs of

internal police, but the powers over war, peace, foreign alliances and commerce, were exercised by Congress. Under the articles of Confederation, these powers were expressly conferred upon Congress; for the articles of Confederation differed from the Constitution, not so much in the extent of the powers given to Congress, as in the mode of executing them. And under the Constitution, all these sovereign powers, were not only expressly conferred upon Congress, but as expressly prohibited to the States. What an abuse of words then it is to speak of States as sovereign.

Nevertheless, this doctrine of State Sovereignty has always been a favorite idea of a certain class of our public men. It may be said indeed, without exaggeration, to have been the evil genius of our Constitution. It assailed it at its very birth. It almost strangled it in its cradle. Its evil influence was felt in the convention which framed the Constitution, and almost prevented its formation. It hovered around the State conventions, which were called to ratify it, and for a time rendered its adoption more than doubtful. It followed the footsteps of its youth, and sowed those dissensions, which embittered the administration of Washington. Its malignant spirit was infused into the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions in 1798, when for the first time it was openly declared, that the Constitution was a compact between the States. After lying dormant for years, it sprung up with renewed vigor in 1830, under the specious guise of nullification. And, gathering strength as it advanced, and throwing off all disguises, it has at last revealed itself in the hideous form of secession.

I have adverted to the Virginia and Kentucky resolves of 1798. But these celebrated resolutions deserve more than a passing notice. Their history is instructive, and the lesson which they teach, if a sad, may at the same time be a salutary one. They were passed at a time of great political excitement. The Alien and Sedition laws had thrown Virginia into a ferment. That these laws were unwise and inexpedient, may readily be admitted; and they probably contributed more than

anything else to the overthrow of that party, which until then, had held the reins of government. But, that they were anything more than this may well be doubted. Nevertheless, the Legislature of Virginia resolved, that these acts were unconstitutional; and not content with this, she further resolved, that the Federal Government was the result of a compact to which the States were parties; that it was for the States themselves to decide in the last resort whether the compact so made by them had been violated; and, that in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise by Congress, of powers not granted by the said compact, it was the right and the duty of the States to interpose, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the evil, and maintaining within their respective limits the authorities which appertained to them.

The Kentucky Legislature used still stronger language. They resolved, "that the several States who formed the Constitution, being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge of its infraction, and that a *nullification* by those sovereignties of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument, is the rightful remedy." Here, we have the doctrine of *nullification* very distinctly shadowed forth.

Now, the objects of both these sets of resolutions were, to render the Alien and Sedition laws odious; and thereby to overthrow the administration of John Adams, and to elevate Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency. Mr. Jefferson himself was the author of the Kentucky Resolutions. These objects were fully accomplished, and it might have been hoped, that these Resolutions, having effected their purpose, would have been suffered to sink into forgetfulness. But, it is always dangerous to tamper with truth; and for a supposed temporary good, to sacrifice great permanent principles. The noxious seeds then sown, were destined to spring up at a future day, and to produce bitter fruits. If there is one State in this Union, which is now suffering more than another from the convulsions of the times, that State is Virginia. Her own doctrines have returned to plague her. The ingredients of the poisoned

chalice now commended to her own lips were concocted by herself.

But these Resolutions have a further interest, from the fact, that they were the subject of the last speech ever made by Patrick Henry; and thus we have, as it were, from his dying lips, a solemn warning of the fatal effects they were calculated to produce. He had opposed, as we have seen, the adoption of the Constitution, upon the ground, that it created too strong a central government. But he lived to see and acknowledge the error into which he had fallen; and that the danger to which we were really exposed, was, not so much from the encroachments of the General Government, as from the insubordination of individual States. Seeing the fatal tendency of these Resolutions, and anxious, if possible, to arrest the evil, he announced himself as a candidate for the Assembly; and at the March Term of the Charlotte Court, 1799, he proposed to address the people. We have had handed down to us a graphic picture of the scene which followed. Multitudes from all parts of the State had assembled to listen once more to the voice of the great orator and patriot. The cryer of the Court, Jimmy Adams as he was called, rose upon a platform, erected for the occasion, and made proclamation, "O yes! O yes! Col. Henry will address the people from this stand, for the last time, and at the risk of his life." "Why Jimmy," said Mr. Henry, "you have made a better speech for me than I can make for myself." "Speak out, father," said Jimmy, "and let us hear how it is." And let us hear too the warning voice of the old man eloquent. "The late proceedings of the Virginia Assembly," he said, "had filled him with apprehensions and alarm; they had planted thorns upon his pillow; they had drawn him from that happy retirement, which it pleased a bountiful Providence to bestow, and in which he had hoped to pass in quite the remainder of his days; that the State had quitted the sphere in which she had been placed by the Constitution; and in daring to pronounce upon the validity of federal laws, had gone out of her jurisdiction, in a manner not warranted by any authority."

He asked, whether the County of Charlotte would have a right to refuse obedience to the laws of Virginia; and he pronounced Virginia to be to the Union, what the County of Charlotte was to her. "If," said he, "I am asked, what is to be done when a people feel themselves *intolerably oppressed*, my answer is ready—*overthrow the government*. But do not, I beseech you, carry matters to this length without provocation. Wait at least until *some* infringement is made upon your rights, and which cannot otherwise be redressed; for if you ever recur to another change, you may bid adieu forever to representative government. You can never exchange the present government but for a monarchy." He conjured the people to pause and consider well, before they rushed into such a desperate condition, from which there could be no retreat. He painted to their imagination, Washington, at the head of a numerous and well appointed army, inflicting upon them military execution. "And where," he asked, "are our resources to meet such a conflict? Where is the citizen of America, who will dare to lift his hand against the Father of his country." A man in the crowd exclaimed that he dared to do it. "No," said Mr. Henry, "*you dare not do it; in such a parricidal attempt, the steel would drop from your nerveless arm.*" As he concluded, he sunk into the arms of the tumultuous throng. Some one exclaimed, "the sun has set in all its glory."

He was elected to the assembly, but did not live to take his seat. He died a few weeks afterwards. The threatened crisis did not come. The Alien and Sedition laws were temporary acts, and soon expired by their own limitation. Thomas Jefferson was elected President. And now, the whole scene is changed. Those powers of the General Government, which in other hands seemed so fraught with danger to the liberties of the country, lost all their terrors, as soon as they were wielded by a Southern President. It is a remarkable fact, that the two most questionable exercises of power ever made by the General Government, and which, as Judge Story remarks, went to the utmost verge of liberal construction—I mean the purchase of

Louisiana in 1803, and the embargo act of 1807, which under the power to regulate commerce, absolutely interdicted it for an unlimited period—were measures of Mr. Jefferson's administration. He was followed by Madison and Monroe. For twenty-four years in succession, Virginia furnished us with Presidents; and during the whole of that time, we hear no more complaints at the South of the unconstitutionality of federal laws. All such complaints came from the North. But then, her remedy for unconstitutional laws, was not State intervention, or nullification, or secession, but an appeal to that tribunal, which the Constitution has made the final arbiter of such questions. While Virginia gave us Presidents, the muscles of her rigid constructionists were wonderfully relaxed; her State jealousies were laid aside; her affection for the Union knew no bounds; the Hartford Convention excited in her breast a perfect storm of patriotic indignation; and, if we had not been so unwise as at last to look elsewhere for a President, we might not now have to mourn over her disloyalty. But no sooner had we another President from the North, than the mutterings of discontent began to be heard at the South. Weapons with which to assail the Government, were drawn from the great armory of State Rights, where they had so long reposed. It was discovered that the Tariff acts, like the Alien and Sedition laws, were deliberate, palpable, and dangerous violations of the Constitution. The resolutions of 1798 were exhumed, and nullification declared the rightful remedy.

If then, this pretended right of Secession has really no warrant in the Constitution, what is the position of the Seceding States? They are *Rebels*, in arms against a rightful government. *Secession is Revolution*, and must be dealt with as such. Now, why have not the South the manliness to admit that such is their true position? Why do they resort to the wretched subterfuge of Secession? Because they are Rebels, it does not follow that their conduct is unjustifiable. Our Fathers were Rebels against the British Crown, and gloried in being so. Because it is a Revolution, it is not, on that account alone, to

be condemned. What are we doing to-day, but celebrating the anniversary of our own glorious Revolution? Why then, again I ask, are the South not willing to call this thing by its right name? The reason is obvious, and it is in vain for them to attempt to conceal it. While the right of Revolution is universally acknowledged, in this country at least, there are certain conditions annexed to it, which can never be dispensed with. One of these conditions is, that it is to be resorted to only in extreme cases, and where all other means of redress have failed. It is the *ultima ratio* of freemen, and to justify an appeal to it, there must be *intolerable oppression*. In the language of that Declaration you have heard to-day, it must not be for light or transient causes. While evils are sufferable, they must be borne with. It must be a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing the same object, and evincing a design to reduce a people to absolute subjection. There is another condition which attaches to this right of Revolution. It implies a correlative right on the part of Government to judge for itself, whether such a case of extreme oppression exists; and if not, then to use all the means which God and nature have put into its hands, for the purpose of crushing it. There must be a case to justify it, and there must be a power to enforce it. If the South mean to exercise the right of Revolution, they must take it with all its responsibilities and consequences. Those who affixed their names to the Declaration of Independence, knew that they took their lives in their hands, and that unless they were able to make it good, they would suffer the doom of rebels. These consequences the South are not prepared to meet, and therefore they seek to avoid them. But it cannot be. It will not do for them to say, "let us alone, we are not rebels. Do not coerce us, we have only seceded." The answer is, Secession is Rebellion. After all, and at the very best, a Revolution is an awful thing, and they who resort to it incur a fearful responsibility. Even when successful, the good that flows from it seldom compensates for the evils which follow in its train. When we call to mind the suffering and wretchedness which it produces; the cruelty

and crime which mark its progress; how many hopes it crushes, how many hearts it breaks; how it involves the innocent as well as the guilty; how it paralyzes industry, clips the wings of commerce, and dries up all the sources of national wealth and prosperity; how it dissolves the bonds of society, unthrones law and religion, and unchains all the bad passions of the human heart; we may be prepared to form some estimate of the accumulated guilt of him, who rushes into a revolution without an adequate cause. Surely, it were better for that man that he had never been born.

Is there anything then to justify, upon the part of the South, a *Revolution;* for, disguise it as they will, to this complexion it must come at last. When, and by whom, have they been oppressed? We have a right to demand an answer to this question. Where is their list of grievances? Let it be produced, and submitted to the judgment of an enlightened world.

Do the South complain, that by reason of their numerical inferiority, they have been excluded from a just share of the offices and honors of the Government? Of fourteen Presidents of the United States, seven have been citizens of the South; and of the remaining seven, three have been Northern men with Southern principles, and have been elected by Southern votes. Of the seven Southern Presidents, five have held the office for two terms, while no President from the North has ever been re-elected. So that, of the seventy-two years which have elapsed since the government went into operation, we have had Southern Presidents for forty-eight years, and Northern Presidents for twenty-four years; and during twelve of these twenty-four years, Northern Presidents chosen by the South, and devoted to her interests. This would leave but twelve years out of the seventy-two, during which government has been administered in the interest of the North; to say nothing of the fact, that Gen. Harrison died a few weeks after he was inaugurated, leaving a Southern man the acting President. So far, then, as the highest office in the gift of the people is concerned, the South has almost monopolized it. So too, with regard to all the other prominent

appointments under the Constitution, the South have had the lion's share. With one third of the population, they have had more than two-thirds of the offices. This certainly does not look like intolerable oppression.

Do the South complain that they have not had their due share of influence in the councils of the nation? The very reverse of this is notoriously the case. The truth is, they have always had an overruling influence. Although a minority in point of population, they have given laws to the majority. They have controlled the policy of the government. They have dictated its measures. No contest has ever arisen between the North and the South, in which the South have not come off triumphant. The secret of their power has always consisted in the fact, that while they were united, the North were divided. A compact and united minority, are always more than a match for a divided majority.

Take, by way of illustration, a single instance. The Tariff policy was originally a Southern policy, a South Carolina policy. Mr. Calhoun was its great advocate in 1816. The South, at that time, was thought to possess facilities for manufacturing purposes. New England was opposed to it. Her great interest was navigation, foreign trade. These, it was believed, would suffer by an attempt to build up manufactures by a protective system. But, by the aid of Southern votes, a protective Tariff became the settled policy of the country. New England soon adapted herself to this new state of things. She sold her ships, and engaged in the business of manufacturing. She was successful in this, as she generally is, in whatever she undertakes. She soon outstripped every other section of the country in her manufacturing processes: In the South meanwhile they had proved a failure. No sooner was it perceived that New England was being enriched by this new policy, than the South awoke to the discovery, that the Tariff was unconstitutional. She denounced, in unmeasured terms, what she called the accursed Tariff. It was made the pretext for nullification; and to pacify the South, and keep Carolina in the Union, the North was obliged virtu-

ally, to abandon a system, which had contributed so much to her prosperity. It has been so with other important measures. While the South were in favor of them, they were wise and constitutional. But when the South were opposed to them, they became unconstitutional, and had to be abandoned. This is the way in which they have been oppressed. Is there a single law upon the statute books of the nation of which the South complain? If so, let them point it out. But it cannot be, for these laws are all of their own making.

But Slavery is made the pretext for secession. Thirty years ago, Gen. Jackson predicted, that the next attempt to break up the Union, would be upon the score of Slavery. What have the South to complain of then in connection with Slavery? The concessions made to Slavery in the Constitution are certainly very ample. At all events, they were all that she demanded; and unless her demands had been complied with, she never would have entered into the Union. It is well known, that in the Convention which framed the Constitution, the delegates from New Jersey were opposed to these concessions. They voted against them. They were opposed to slave representation in every form in which it was presented. They were unwilling to continue the African Slave trade for a day, even for an hour. But she was overruled by her sister States, and she submitted. And from that day to this, she has always stood faithfully by the Compromises of the Constitution. So, in fact, have all the Free States. No serious attempts have ever been made to disturb them.

Then, as to the rendition of Fugitive Slaves. This has always been the sensitive point with the South. And if her complaints here are unfounded, then is her conduct absolutely without excuse. Now, so far as the General Government is concerned, there is no provision of the Constitution which has more fully and fairly been carried out. The South was not satisfied with the act passed upon this subject under the administration of Gen. Washington, and which had been in successful operation for more than half a century; but in 1850, she insisted upon a

more stringent law; a law, which denied to one charged with being a fugitive, but claiming to be a freeman, the right to a trial by jury. The act is certainly very offensive in many of its features. It was intended to be so. But it was one of the Compromise measures of 1850, and it was passed. And now, we have the authority of the late lamented Senator Douglas for saying, that there is not a single act of Congress that has ever been more faithfully executed.

But one more complaint, and I have done. The South say, that they are not allowed to take their slaves into the territories. If this were so, would it justify them in breaking loose from the Union—"for one restraint, lords of the world besides." But how stands the fact? Why, the Supreme Court of the United States have decided that they have a right under the Constitution to take their slaves into the territories, and that neither Congress nor the Territorial Legislatures have any power to prevent it. Now, right or wrong, this decision, until reversed, is the law of the land; and the whole power of the General Government is pledged to enforce it. It is also a significant fact, that at the very last session of a Republican Congress, three new territories were organized without the slightest restriction as to slavery. So that, at the present moment, there is not a single foot of territory belonging to the United States, to which a Southern man may not emigrate with all his slaves. There never has been a period before in the history of our country, when the South enjoyed such perfect immunity for their peculiar institution; when such complete protection was thrown around slave property. Their boast is, that their slaves were never more happy and contented than now. And yet, this is the very moment which they have chosen for separating from the Union upon the ground, that they could no longer remain in it with safety.

But admitting the complaints of the South to be utterly groundless, some one may be disposed to ask, why pursue this contest further? What do you hope to gain by it? You cannot subjugate the South. They are united as one man. They will

die in the last ditch before they yield. And if you were to conquer them, what would you do with them? You cannot hope to win back their affections by force. To this, I answer. We do not certainly know what may be the issues of the struggle. They are in the hands of God. There we are willing to leave them. But one thing we do know. We have a duty to perform; painful it may be, but a solemn one. The path to which it leads is plain before us; we must walk in it regardless of consequences. This duty rests upon the government. It rests upon the people. No one can be absolved from it. No one can violate it, but at the peril of his soul. We have an oath in Heaven. We are sworn to support the Constitution and laws. More than this. We have a sacred trust committed to our hands, for the faithful discharge of which we must give an account. This glorious Constitution has been handed down to us by our Fathers, as their last best gift; the richest legacy in their power to bestow; and they call to us from their graves to transmit it unimpaired to those who are to come after us. That Constitution is in peril. Shall we not rush to its rescue? Shall we surrender it without a struggle? It is the ark of our political covenant. Shall we not, at the hazard of all that is dear to us, preserve it from violation? There is everything to animate us in the discharge of this duty. The cause in which we are engaged is a holy cause. It is the cause of law, of order, of civilization, of constitutional freedom, now and for all future times, here and throughout the world. Bright omens cheer us on every side. The hearts of the people are with us. They have taken the work into their own hands. *They mean to preserve the government, should those who are intrusted with it falter or fail.* That Constitution which they made, they will defend. That Providence, who watched over us in our infancy, who led our armies to victory in the war of our Revolution, who guided the counsels of those that built up our Institutions, will not now forsake us. Already, has its manifestations been visible on our behalf. Who, that looks at the events of the last few months—at the imminent perils to which we were exposed, and from

which we escaped by no wisdom or foresight of our own—our very Government in the hands of traitors—those whom we had a right to look to as our defenders, basely deserting us in our hour of need—the hearts of the best men failing them because of fear—who, that remembers these things, can fail to see, that the hand of God has been stretched out on our behalf.

We have no unkind feelings towards the people of the South. Notwithstanding the wrongs and insults they have heaped upon us, and which would have been borne with from none but those who once were our brethren, we have exercised towards them a forbearance unexampled in the history of the world. Up to the very last, our hearts' prayer has been that they would see, before it was forever too late, the fatal errors of their way; and that they would allow us to return to the scabbard, with its blade unstained by their blood, that sword which we have so reluctantly drawn.

But, although slow to take up arms—although even, when prepared to strike, hesitating to do so, that the utmost time might be given for repentance—let not our position be misunderstood. To those whom we cannot but regard as traitors, with arms in their hands, no concessions are to be made—no terms proposed. Unconditional submission to the Constitution and Laws must be absolutely insisted upon. This is the people's stern resolve, their inflexible purpose. Until this is accomplished, never will they lay down their arms—never—never. A disastrous *war*—defeat, followed by a dismemberment of the Union—would be better than any *peace*, which even tacitly acknowledges the right of Secession. Yes! if the South are to go out of the Union, let them hew their way out by the sword. It will be so *rough* a way, that others will not be likely hereafter to tread in it. But make the way easy, let it be once understood that there can be such a thing as peaceful secession, and you extinguish all hope of preserving what may yet remain of the Union. Then shall we see,

> "Star follow star, and light light,
> 'Till all is darkness and eternal night."

And finally, my friends, is not this government worth preserving? What a beautiful fabric it is! What a perfect piece of political mechanism, if indeed, perfection can be ascribed to anything human! I know it seems complex—wheels within wheels—"eccentric, intervolved, yet regular then most, when most irregular it seems"—

> "Which yonder starry sphere
> Of planets and of fixed, in all their wheels
> Resembles nearest"—

combining in one system, a number of separate States, in such a way, that on the one hand they should not rush into consolidation, nor on the other fly asunder in broken fragments; with a great central power, around which all revolve, while each at the same time has an orbit of its own; borrowing what is best, and copying what is fairest, from all other forms of government, and blending them into one harmonious whole. Has it not more than realized the fondest hopes formed of it by its framers? Has it not compassed, in a remarkable degree, the very ends for which it was ordained? Has it not proved itself equal to every emergency? Adapted to a state of war as well as of peace? And with an expansive power that knows no limit, opened its capacious arms and taken under its protecting wings State after State, until the number has increased from thirteen to thirty-four, and the population swelled from three to thirty millions? Put out the lesser light of a State Constitution, and it might easily be rekindled. But let the Constitution of the United States be destroyed, and when could we hope to see it re-constructed. Once quench it, and where is that Promethean heat that could its light relume? Let us then stand by the Constitution. Let us rally round the flag of the Union. Let us uphold the gorgeous Ensign of the Republic, with its arms and trophies streaming in all their original lustre, not a single stripe obscured, nor a single star obliterated.